

Message Text

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TAGS: MOPS,MASS, EAID, EFIN, CG

SUBJECT: ZAIRE IN US PRESS
PARIS FOR UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM

1. IN CONTRAST TO WASHINGTON POST WHICH HAD SEVERAL LEAD
FEATURE STORIES ON ZAIRE AND US AFRICAN POLICY, SUNDAY
JUNE 4 NEW YORK TIMES, APART FROM ONE WIRE SERVICE- BASED
STORY WHICH BEING REPEATED SEPTEL, DEVOTED ITS ATTENTION
TO FOUR MAJOR OPED ARTICLES BY BERNARD GWERTZMAN, JOHN
F. BURNS, TOM WICKER AND JONATHAN POWER.

2. FOLLOWING ARE MAJOR PORTIONS OF GWERTZMAN ARTICLE:

QUOTE REPORTERS ARE HAVING TROUBLE BELIEVING THE GOVERN-

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MENT.....BECAUSE THEY DON'T KNOW WHAT THE CARTER ADMINIS-
TRATION IS UP TO.....WEDNESDAY, IN A SPEECH THAT WILL
FOCUS ON RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, PRESIDENT CARTER
IS EXPECTED TO ATTEMPT TO SHOW THAT, DESPITE THE OUTSPOKEN
AND OFTEN CONFLICTING VIEWS OF HIS AIDES, HIS ADMINISTRA-
TION IS NOT AS FREEWHEELING AND DISORGANIZED AS IT SEEMS.

THE FOREMOST "VOICES" IN THE ADMINISTRATION OTHER THAN THE PRESIDENT'S ARE THOSE OF BRZEZINSKI, HIS NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, AND CYRUS R. VANCE, HIS SECRETARY OF STATE

THE PUBLIC UTTERANCES OF MR. BRZEZINSKI AND MR. VANCE HAVE BECOME SO DISCORDANT THAT A FAVORITE TOPIC AMONG DIPLOMATS, OFFICIALS AND JOURNALISTS IS WHETHER A STRUGGLE FOR PROMINENCE BETWEEN THE TWO MAY IN FACT BE UNDERWAY.

MR. BRZEZINSKI, WHO SEEMS TO SENSE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WANTS TO PURSUE A TOUGHER COURSE TOWARD THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS AS A RESULT OF THE ZAIRE AFFAIR, HAS BEEN IN THE LEAD IN CASTIGATING THE SOVIET UNION FOR ALMOST EVERYTHING IT IS DOING. JUST BACK FROM CHINA, HE ALSO GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF TRYING TO PLAY THE "CHINA CARD" AS PART OF THE WESTERN RESPONSE TO THE RUSSIANS. ON TELEVISION LAST SUNDAY, HE SPOKE OF 'PARALLEL INTERESTS' WITH THE CHINESE. HE ALSO CALLED FOR AN 'INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE' TO THE ZAIRE INVASION, IN EFFECT LENDING SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH IDEA OF ARMING AFRICANS TO PROTECT ZAIRE AND POSSIBLY OTHER COUNTRIES ON THE CONTINENT.

MR. VANCE, WHO NORMALLY DISDAINS PUBLIC ARGUMENTS, HAS HAD LITTLE TO SAY RECENTLY. BUT WHEN HE HAS, HE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN WORKING ALMOST AT CROSS PURPOSES

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FROM MR. BRZEZINSKI. ASKED ABOUT THE ZAIRE SITUATION AT A NEWS CONFERENCE EARLIER IN THE WEEK, MR. VANCE SAID THAT IT WAS POINTED OUT AT THE MEETING IN WASHINGTON OF NATO LEADERS 'THAT THESE ARE VERY, VERY COMPLEX PROBLEMS AND THEIR ROOTS ARE DEEPER OFTEN THAN MERELY EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES.' HE ALSO SAID THAT A PLANNED MEETING IN PARIS THIS WEEK SHOULD STRESS THE ECONOMIC REHABILITATION OF ZAIRE AND NOT THE CREATION OF A SECURITY FORCE.

TWO OTHER VOICES IN THE ADMINISTRATION WHO HAVE BEEN PROMINENT ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS HAVE BEEN MUTED LATELY. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, ASSIGNED THE JOB OF COORDINATING AFRICA POLICY, GAVE UP THE POST AFTER A MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA IN EUROPE LAST YEAR. SINCE THEN, HE HAS DEVOTED HIS FOREIGN POLICY ENERGIES TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA.

ANDREW YOUNG, THE OFTEN CONTROVERSIAL CHIEF DELEGATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IS THE OTHER. MR. YOUNG OPENLY DISAGREES WITH THE CARTER-BRZEZINSKI EMPHASIS ON THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS IN AFRICA AND BELIEVES THAT THE BEST APPROACH IS A GRADUAL, QUIET ONE, STRESSING THE NEED FOR AFRICANS

TO COPE WITH THEIR OWN DIFFICULTIES AIDED ECONOMICALLY BY THE UNITED STATES. HE IS REPORTEDLY UNHAPPY WITH THE RECENT TURN IN AFRICAN POLICY AND IS CONSIDERING

GOING PUBLIC WITH HIS DISAGREEMENTS, SOMETHING HE HAS NOT HESITATED TO DO IN THE PAST.

THE CONCERN AROUND THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS THAT THE VANCE-YOUNG VOICE OF MODERATION IS LOSING OUT TO A MORE AGGRESSIVE MOOD AT THE WHITE HOUSE EPITOMIZED BY MR. BRZEZINSKI. MR. VANCE'S AIDES HAVE TOLD HIM THAT UNLESS HE SPEAKS OUT MORE VIGOROUSLY AND EXPLAINS HIS VIEWS MORE COHERENTLY, HE WILL BE PERCEIVED WITHIN THE BUREAUCRACY, BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND ON CAPITOL HILL
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AS HAVING LOST THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT EVEN IF HE HASN'T. UNQUOTE

3. IN COMPANION PIECE ON FIRST PAGE OF TIMES "THE WEEK IN REVIEW" JOHN F. BURNS, BANNERING HIS REMARKS AS A "CALL TO ARMS? AFRICA HEARS DIFFERENT DRUMMERS" STATES:

QUOTE FOR JOHN VORSTER, IT WAS THE BEST THING TO COME DOWN THE PIKE IN A VERY LONG TIME. HIS OLD NEMESIS, JIMMY CARTER, SUDDENLY WAS BEATING THE DRUMS ABOUT THE SOVIET THREAT IN AFRICA, THE VERY THING MR. VORSTER HAS BEEN WARNING ABOUT WHILE THE US HAS BEEN CONCENTRATING ITS AFRICAN EFFORTS ON UNDOING WHITE MINORITY RULE.

MR. VORSTER, OF COURSE, WAS WAGERING THAT THIS NEW 'REALISM' WOULD USHER IN A MORE BENIGN APPROACH TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA'S WHITES, WHO HAVE BEEN TRYING TO CONVINCE THE WEST THAT THE GRAVEST ISSUE IN THEIR REGION IS

NOT BLACK RIGHTS BUT COMMUNIST EXPANSIONISM, AS MANIFESTED IN THE GROWTH OF SOVIET AND CHINESE-BACKED NATIONALIST GROUPS.

BUT FURTHER NORTH, IN BLACK-RULED AFRICA, WASHINGTON'S NEW-FOUND ASSERTIVENESS ARECEIVED DISTINCTLY MIXED REVIEWS. AMONG COUNTRIES THAT ALREADY HAVE ALIGNED THEMSELVES WITH MOSCOW, SUCH AS ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, THERE WERE WARNINGS ABOUT RENASCENT AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

YET THERE UNDOUBTEDLY WERE OTHER CAPITALS WHERE THE PROSPECT OF A STIFFER AMERICAN RESPONSE TO SOVIET INVOLVEMENT WAS WELCOMED.

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ALMOST EVERYWHERE, THE DEBATE ABOUT THE UNITED STATES POLICY CENTERS ON THE ROLE OF ANDREW YOUNG. ...MR. YOUNG'S SCARCELY CONCEALED DISENCHANTMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES

SUPPORT FOR ZAIRE LOGICALLY SHOULD HAVE WON HIM PLAUDITS IN THE MILITANT AFRICAN STATES, BUT THE FACT IS THAT HIS REPUTATION STANDS LOWER IN THE PIVOTAL NATIONS OF THE OAU THAN HIS SUPPORTERS, INCLUDING MR. CARTER, APPEAR TO BELIEVE. UNDOUBTEDLY HE HAS WON A PERSONAL POPULARITY OUTSTRIPPING ANYTHING PREVIOUSLY ACCOMPLISHED BY US DIPLOMATS IN AFRICA. BUT RESPECT FOR HIS CHARM AND HUMANISM HAS NOT BEEN MATCHED BY ESTEEM FOR HIS POLITICAL ABILITY. A HIGH-RANKING NIGERIAN, WHO COUNTS HIMSELF AMONG MR. YOUNG'S PERSONAL FRIENDS, PUT FORWARD A COMMON VIEW WHEN HE TOLD A VISITOR RECENTLY THAT, WHEN IT COMES TO AFRICA, 'ANDY IS REALLY AN INNOCENT'.

THE WORDS COULD STAND AS AN AFRICAN EPITAPH ON THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS PRIOR TO THE CRISIS IN ZAIRE.

THE ATTEMPT TO 'GET ON SIDE' WITH THE BLACK STATES -- A FAVORITE STATE DEPARTMENT PHRASE -- HAS MISFIRED IN OTHER WAYS..... IN MAPUTO, AND AGAIN IN SOUTH AFRICA, MR. YOUNG IRRITATED NATINLISTS WHO HAVE LOST THOUSANDS OF LIVES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE REGIMES BY HIS SUGGESTION THAT THEY ADOPT THE TACTICS OF NONVIOLENCE EMPLOYED SUCCESSFULLY BY AMERICAN BLACKS.

4. EXCERPTS FROM POWER AND WICKER OPED ARTICLES FOLLOW SEPTTEL. VANCE

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